1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

are scarce and fall again after harvest time, while many material items like jewelry, clothes, etc., are just the opposite, going down in price when cash is scarce and rising later when people have more money after the harvest.

The Organization of Trade

Looking at Bornu as a whole it is also important to see how trade is organized so that goods can move from one point to another as well as into and out of the society as a whole. The best terms to start with here are "retail" and "wholesale," since the Kanuri themselves see a distinction between selling to ultimate consumers as compared with selling to people who are in turn going to sell the item again. At the local level in a town like Magumeri trade is handled by retailers who sell uncooked foods, medicines, charms, medical services, building services, sundries, etc., directly to consumers and the local householders. Generally speaking goods produced locally are retailed locally, usually by the producers themselves. Thus Ka'anami sells his own calabashes, Mala Bukar his own meat, the blacksmith his own tools, and so on. However goods not produced locally such as salt, textiles, kola nuts, and European manufactured goods, are sold by wholesalers first to local retailers, then by these retailers to the local users. The wholesale relationships between buyers and sellers is a very important one and must be viewed close-up to be appreciated. Let us therefore look at it from the point of view first of the retailer, then a wholesaler, then a "financier" who uses his capital to support wholesale trade.

MOMADU, THE SALT SELLER Momadu is about sixty years old and has lived in Magumeri for eight years. He comes originally from Hadejia to the west of Bornu where he began selling salt for an Arab trader when he was a teenager. The Arab gave him several bags of salt (100 pounds per bag) on trust, and he would sell it on the market in one-penny lots at a profit of a few shillings a bag for himself. After the salt was sold, he would pay back the Arab. Later he came to Bornu and was given credit by some of his father's brother's sons. However after a while they quarreled over the division of the profits from the salt selling, and he left this group and came to Magumeri. In Magumeri he asked the district head's wife to help him since she was known for her interest in trade. She arranged for one of her servants to go to the capital weekly and buy salt from the Levantine traders. She then distributed these to a number of people, including Momadu, who paid her when the salt was sold.

Later, when this woman moved away with her husband to another district, Momadu obtained a connection with a wealthy trader in Maiduguri with the help of the district head's wife. This trader sends out a follower each week with five bags of salt and Momadu sells this by visiting local markets during the week. His relationship to his supplier is somewhat impersonal although they trust one another and Momadu pays his respects to his supplier when visiting the city. Momadu says he does not need a very close relationship to his supplier because he already is the *tada njima* or client-follower of Kachella Abba, the head dyer of Magumeri. Momadu has no wife so he eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him, and helps Kachella Abba on the latter's

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

farm. If Kachella Abba were to leave Magumeri, Monadu feels he would move with him. This would not impair his relationship to the salt supplier since that man lives in Maiduguri where he would still have to go to obtain wholesale salt. He says Kachella Abba is his "father" and he would and must serve him and give him respect even though the two men are nearly the same age.

BUKAR, THE "TADA NJIMA" Another example of retailing that shows how it is often imbedded into a more general relationship is that of Bukar. Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about the village of Magumeri with a tin of cellophane-wrapped candies. One of the village's household heads goes in and out of the city regularly on messages for the native administration. When in the city he buys a tin or two of candy and brings these back to Magumeri. The boy, Bukar, is about twenty years old; he is not related by descent or marriage to the senior man but lives in his compound and is fed and clothed by the household head. When the senior rides horseback in ceremonies the boy carries his spear and walks behind the horse; he gathers grass for the horse, runs messages for the household head, carries water for the household, and works on the household farm-plots. Receipts from the candy sale are given to the household head who then gives Bukar a small amount for himself. Here the retailing of candy is only one aspect of the relationship between Bukar and his household head. He refers to his superior, the household head, as *abba njima* or father of the house, and says of him, "He is just like my father."

AJIMI, THE KOLA NUT SELLER Next we see a wholesaler who sells directly to retailers in an ancient trade that has always allowed for middlemen by the score because of the vast distances over which it is carried out. Ajimi is a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six who lives with his brothers in a small hamlet just outside Magumeri. For the six to nine months a year when farming is slack, and intermittently while he is farming, Ajimi sells kola nuts to local retailers. Ajimi gets the money from his father's older brother in the city and then buys a *kwando*, a large rope wrapped package of nuts. A kwando costs about sixty to seventy dollars and contains roughly 7000 to 8000 nuts. He buys the nuts from traders in the city who ship them into Maiduguri from other parts of Nigeria and West Africa.

Ajimi visits three or four of these traders regularly about twice a month in the dry season. He always goes to all of them, inspects their goods, talks prices, and then decides where to place his order. He does this for two reasons. First there is always some variety in price and quality and he must try to get the best he can of both. Secondly, by going to these same suppliers, among dozens of possible ones, he feels he can build up their confidence in him by selling his stuff well and steadily. Indeed, several of the suppliers have on occasion given him an extra kwando on credit and he kept the profits for himself.

Generally Ajimi brings the nuts back in time for Magumeri Sunday market and attends the Thursday and Monday markets as well at nearby towns. He can sell a kwando to retailers in about two weeks and make a profit of about thirty dollars, half of which he gives to his father's older brother who supplied the original money. Thus he makes about fifteen dollars for two weeks of wholesaling—if he is lucky and sagacious in his relations to retailers. Retailers can go to several suppliers like Ajimi. They decide on the basis of quality of the nuts, on the price, and whether they can obtain credit when they need it. The most flexible and negotiable of these is credit, and Ajimi has his most difficult time trying to compete on this

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

What about larger organizations like the emirate political hierarchy and the trading organizations based on stores or canteens, that is to say, modern business enterprises? These obviously contain people who are not members of the same household. Certainly this is true, but often, as in the trading organizations, junior clerks in the store did at one time live in the household of the store owner or still do live there. Much more important, the Kanuri claim, is the fact that the proper way to behave in a political or economic hierarchy is the way one behaves in a household organization or a set of linked households. The junior in the organization gives *bərzum* (or discipline-respect) to his superior and in return he receives the benefits of membership, that is to say, he receives a social and political status, protection, and economic gain, for the loyalty and obedience which he delivers to his superior. This to the Kanuri is the most important single behavior in social life. It is learned in the household and then used to link households and individuals together in all of the organizations that are important in the society as a whole. The inference here is that the society is basically and essentially hierarchical—one in which most relationships are of a superior-subordinate variety—and indeed this is true except for friendship groups that do not, however, carry on many of the fundamental activities in Bornu.

It is because this underlying unity is still so firm and central a feature of Kanuri social life that I have not stressed the fact that my trips to Bornu straddle the historic fact of Nigerian independence. Political independence has brought no change in the way in which the bulk of the Kanuri organize their social life and live out the contents of their daily lives in their households, their villages, and their emirate. These modes of behaving have ancient roots in the area, and independence has not witnessed any widespread attempts to change things or to create new modes of organizing the social life of the emirate. Top administrators are now Nigerians, not British colonial officials, but what and how they administer in Bornu is roughly the same as it was in the pre-independence era of the 1950s. When I spoke to some of the leaders of the emirate in 1965 about their understanding of changes that might occur in the political system or the way in which the emirate was organized, they commented that the system was efficient and could serve as a stable, trustworthy form of local political organization through which any changes might come and still keep Bornu as a viable entity for a long time in Nigeria's future.

What is different today, and different only in degree, is the commitment to modernization on the part of top leadership and the initiative they are willing to show in this regard. The leaders are committed whole-heartedly to expanding western education, obtaining better health services, and decreasing disease. They also hope to increase productivity in agriculture and introduce the beginnings of industrialization into Bornu. Steps are being taken in all directions, and only the future can tell what of the past will actually enter into a future that at least on the surface seems in its ultimate goal to be so different from the majestic past and the present of the Kanuri of Bornu.

463 be an element of traditional Kanuri culture. Most of these
467 specialists, craftsmen and tradesmen, are involved with the
441 market, an old Kanuri institution, but others are, and always
177 have been engaged in carrying on their trade outside of the
178 market. New types of craftsmen and tradesmen who are engaged in new sorts of activities which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with the Western world tend not to be organized compared to the older and more traditional groups in Kanuri society.

4. Local trade, and the market-place.

44 An attempt was made to tally the number of sellers on a
438 Geidam market day. Normally, the market is swarming with people at the height of market activity. This is particularly true in the dry season, in the months following the harvest.
[221] During October and November, when the harvest has been gathered
[491] and people can afford to buy things, and the roads are once again passable, the Geidam market reaches enormous proportions. The tally, however, was made over two market days in late August and early September. This is in the latter part of the rainy season, and the market is much smaller because of the difficulties in traveling at that time of the year, but it made it much easier to count the number of sellers present at one time. There were 1,477 sellers present in the market. People buying and the many others merely sitting around chatting or observing the scene were not included in the tally. There were prob-

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44 ably 5,000 people present at one time in the market-place in 438 the early afternoon hours when the peak of trade is reached, and this at a time of year when market activity is subdued. [492] In the area set aside for pack and riding animals there were: 36 camels, 60 cows (used by the Shuwa Arabs as beasts of burden), 56 horses, and approximately 300 donkeys.

The sellers in the market-place occupy the same stalls each week, and all those selling the same commodity occupy a common area in the market-place. A breakdown of the sellers in the Geidam market reveals the following:

1. a) 558 sellers of food-stuff.

Meat - 15 butchers; 5 dried meat sellers; 32 dried fish sellers.

Vegetables - 59 cassava; 43 onions; 33 kalkua (kuka leaves); 42 peanuts, 31 crushed peanuts with oil removed.

Grain - 49 millet; 6 wheat; 6 rice.

[563] Butter - 25 Fulani women sellers.

Others - fresh vegetables, yams, lemons, cucumber, okra, squash, beans, and cooked foods eaten at the market.

b) 55 sellers of live animals.

It is difficult to estimate the number of sellers, as each does not sit before his produce, but there were 152 sheep and goats for sale, and 20 horses, young colts and elderly nags. Cattle are not sold at the Wednesday market; the cattle market is held twice a week in a separate area.

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• 44 2. a) 126 sellers of clothing.
438 Cloth - 70 sellers who sell bolts of cloth by the yard, and who also sell finished garments. Many have a man in their stall operating a sewing machine, making up clothing.

[439] Shoes - 26 sellers, including those selling Kanuri shoes, Western shoes made of rubber, sandals of cow-hide or rubber tires.

Hats - 10 sellers.

b) 180 sellers of household articles.

Almost all of these are Kanuri-made. They include: beds, mattresses, pillows, woven baskets of many shapes and sizes, calabashes - decorated and plain, wooden bowls, pottery cups, cooking pots and storage vessels, sleeping and sitting mats (bajis) - both plain and multi-colored.

[439] Enamel-ware bowls and dishes, buckets, and blankets are the only imported goods; they are sold by ten sellers.

c) 75 Craftsmen.

[326] [305] [282] [322] [294] Craftsmen selling their services and their products in the market include: blacksmiths (selling knives, hoe and ax blades, swords, horse bits, spurs etc.), barbers shaving heads, leather workers (selling knife sheaths, covered Koranic charms and Koran bags, saddle straps etc.), woodworkers (handles for axes and hoes, Koranic writing boards), carpenters who make Western items, sewing machine operators.

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• 44 438 d) 71 sellers of raw materials.

Tanned hides and skins, raw cotton for making thread, raffia from which baskets are made. There were approximately 35 sellers of bundles of grass used for making bøjis.

3. a) 118 sellers of condiments.

73 pepper sellers, 21 potash sellers, 6 sellers of Kanuri salt.

[439] 16 sellers of imported European salt, 2 sellers of sugar.

b) 165 sellers of stimulants.

77 kola nut sellers, 81 tobacco-flower (føle) sellers, 7 sellers of tobacco used for chewing.

c) 92 sundry sellers.

46 føtkema, selling: cloves, garlic, antimony, antimony cases, incense, pepper, beads, bracelets, pins, needles, hair-picks, dye, mirrors - all traditional Kanuri items.

[439] 46 taborma, selling: perfume, flashlight batteries, matches, kerosene, and other imported Western items.

d) 37 sellers of miscellaneous items.

[732] These include sellers of rope (made by the blind), salt for curing hides, fodder for horses, henna used to dye hands and feet, charms (sold by a pagan charm-seller), candy (alewa), silver for the manufacture of jewelry, horse trappings - saddles, saddle cloths, leads, whips, stirrups, etc.

Total number of sellers: 1, 477.

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44 From an overall examination of the sorts of goods sold
438 in the Geidam market, one can draw the following conclusions.
433 More than one-third of the sellers are involved in the retail-
ing of a wide variety of foodstuffs, most of it grown, collected
[543] or prepared by the seller himself. In some cases they are
vegetables (onions) grown on garden plots for sale, in others
they are types of leaves (kuka leaves gathered by Shuwa or
Buduwai women) collected for the market, or a specialized
product in which a group deals (butter sold by Fulani women).
[462] Dried fish were caught by fishermen and smoke-dried by women
who now sell them in the market. Fully another third of the
sellers are engaged in the sale of clothing or household goods,
of which an overwhelming proportion have been manufactured by
Kanuri craftsmen. They sew the clothing, make hats, shoes and
the entire range of household goods noted above. Included
within this category are the suppliers of raw materials to the
craftsmen: grass for mats, raffia for baskets, tanned skins,
etc.; also the craftsmen themselves who work to order in the
44 market-place. The only exceptions to the locally made items
438 which predominate in the area of clothing and household goods
439 are cloth, which is no longer locally woven and represents per-
haps the single most important imported item, and items like
enamelware and buckets. Of the slightly less than one-third
of the sellers that remains to be accounted for, sellers of
condiments, stimulants and sundry and miscellaneous items, most
sell typically local Kanuri items. The tabarma sells imported

goods, and European salt and sugar are also imported. Lastly, kola nuts are not locally grown and must be imported.

Of the 1477 sellers in the Geidam market, only 226 (15 per cent) sell imported items; 77 of these sell kola nuts, and this will be discussed separately; 70 sell cloth or clothing, traceable to the disappearance of weaving as a local craft when Western cloth first appeared; 46 are taborma. The remaining 33 sell salt, enamelware and rubber shoes. It is apparent therefore that the Geidam market is essentially a local market, serving the local community which includes the town of Geidam itself and smaller villages within a radius of perhaps fifteen miles. Villagers come into Geidam on foot, on horse, with donkeys and with camels, bringing with them local produce, such as foodstuff or livestock and locally made wares, which they sell in the market, buying in turn the products made by Geidam craftsmen. Merchants selling in the Geidam market are all small-scale retailers, saborma, according to the Kanuri, who buy someplace and sell elsewhere at a profit. Many of these saborma transport their stock of goods from one weekly market to another, using a donkey or a camel. About twenty miles east of Geidam is the town of Digeltera, often called Sɔbdɔ (Saturday) because its market-day is Saturday. Other surrounding towns form loosely integrated market rings with alternating market days so that the itinerant saborma can visit them each in turn with his goods. Since Geidam is reached by roads from both Maiduguri and Nguru, goods imported from the West are

44 shipped into Geidam. This sort of trade, it will be shown,
438 does not center in the market-place, but goods entering in
439 this fashion do eventually reach the market. Cloth, enamel-
ware, and everything sold by the tabarma are all imported into
Nigeria, but they pass through many Kanuri hands before reach-
ing these retailers in the market-place. Sabarma from other
small towns come into Geidam to buy these things and resell
them in their own towns, and sabarma from Geidam go out to the
small towns and villages with their goods.

44 The character of the Geidam market as a local market can
438 also be seen in the interaction of various cultural groups
439 within the market. Peoples of many cultures can be found liv-
563 ing in Geidam. Neither Fulani or Shuwa Arabs, however, are
found in the town itself. Both come into Geidam on market day
to sell particular items with which they are associated and
to buy necessities for themselves. Both the Fulani and the
Shuwa Arabs are semi-nomadic pastoralists who come into towns
solely to exchange their goods for those made by the towns-
people; both sell cattle and dairy products. Fulani men sell
cows, bows and arrows, and distinctively decorated calabashes;
Fulani women sell butter, soured milk, woven baskets and bas-
ket covers in a separate section of the market-place devoted
to their products. The Fulani buy cassava, crushed groundnuts,
[415] sugar, gowns, hats, shoes, kola nuts, and tobacco. Like the
Fulani, the Shuwa sell cows and butter, but the specialties of
the Shuwa include the leaves of the kuka tree which their wom-

44 438 439 563 [915] en collect, and the black wooden bowl (bur) which serves as the standard eating bowl for all Kanuri. In turn, they buy Kanuri-style gowns, bəjis, dates, kola nuts and incense. Lastly, Buduwai, a pastoral sub-group of the Kanuri, come into the Geidam market with cows, milk, butter and millet to sell. They buy salt, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars (gursus, from which they make bracelets and anklets).

5. External trade.

44 439 177 External trade remains to be considered. This is the process through which Western goods, imported by the European trading companies, enter into the Kanuri economy and are distributed so that they eventually reach the individual Kanuri. As part of this process, the cash crops of the Kanuri are sold to agents of Western companies and exported from the area.

44 439 177 952 The trading companies of Geidam sell their goods to wholesalers, wealthy Kanuri or Hausa middlemen, who primarily receive quantities of imported cloth from the companies. The companies extend credit to these middlemen, each of whom has his shop or canteen in the town where his stock in bolts of cloth is displayed. Payment for goods is made after the cloth is sold. Consequently these men are balɔsma in Kanuri terms. [556] Successful operators of canteens are wealthy men who deal in [592] large volumes of goods. They are the heads of large households, [571] and have a great many relatives, and tata njima attached to them. The tata njima farm for them, and many transact business for them as well. They distribute and sell cloth in the dis-

44 439 177 452 tant towns where no trading companies are located, and in the surrounding villages that are not large enough to support canteens and shops of their own. When goods are distributed and sold in this fashion, the balɔsma pays off the debt which he has accumulated at the trading company with which he deals, and acquires new stocks of goods which have since arrived -- 44 439 177 new cotton prints, organdy and rayon. Small traders, sabɔrma, who are unable to establish a good credit rating and therefore cannot deal directly with the European companies, come to the Kanuri canteens and buy cloth in small quantities which they resell in the market-place or in other villages. The retailers of cloth in the market-place are therefore tradesmen of a different sort from the operators of the canteens, and it is in the hands of these canteen traders that external trade lies.

Like cloth, all other imported goods which eventually find their way to the market-place get there at the end of a process of breaking of bulk which centers in the shops and canteens. Items like flashlight batteries, kerosene lanterns, kerosene, matches, enamelware and perfume are bought in bulk by the shopkeepers directly from the trading companies who import them [563] through their central offices in Kano and Lagos. The latter type of goods is handled largely by Ibo and Yoruba traders who operate small canteens in the Hausa ward, though some Kanuri canteens also deal in such merchandise. The Ibo and Yoruba shop-keepers sell goods directly in their small shops, and also sell to tabɔrma. Tabɔrma, who are Kanuri, further break

44 439 177 down the packages in which goods arrive, selling bundles of matches tied together or coca-cola bottles filled with kerosene, from their tables in the market-place.

[244] [237] [314] The export goods of the Geidam area are groundnuts, cowhides, sheep and goat skins and gum arabic. The same European trading companies that import the various sorts of goods mentioned above also handle the exports of the region, and the same network of Kanuri and Hausa tradesmen is involved in the collection and sale of peanuts and hides and skins to the trading companies, save that some tradesmen specialize entirely in dealing in hides and skins, while others deal only in groundnuts. Many of the important canteen owners also buy groundnuts as agents of the particular company from which they buy cloth, once the harvest season begins. This trade, too, involves the use of large amounts of credit which the trading company extends to its list of reliable and wealthy Kanuri traders (balɔsma) who have been dealing with the same company for many seasons. Long before the groundnuts are harvested, the agents of a Kanuri trader, trusted members of his household and relatives, go out into the countryside giving cash to the farmers who thus pledge their entire crop to a particular trader. When the crop is harvested, most of it goes directly to Kanuri middlemen who have distributed the cash advanced to them by the European trading companies, and through them the groundnuts come into the hands of the trading companies. Eventually the entire groundnut crop of Northern Nigeria is sold to the Groundnut

44 439 452 244

[648]

[GEIDAM]

44 Marketing Board for whom the trading companies act as agents.
439 The Kanuri trader who brings in a large share of the groundnut
452 crop in the Geidam area to the particular trading company
244 which has extended credit to him receives a commission and is
[465] assured that he will again receive credit from that company in the coming year. If he has succeeded in bringing in large amounts of groundnuts, he will receive more money to work with in the coming year. If he has not done well, or if the money advanced to him has been squandered by his "people" (usually the members of his household), then his credit will suffer and may even be entirely eliminated. Should that happen, his entire household would suffer.

44 Hides and skins and gum arabic are bought by Kanuri traders
439 and sold to the trading companies in the same manner, except
452 that there is no government Marketing Board dealing in these
237 commodities so that the trading companies are not protected against a drop in the market price. Kanuri traders dealing in hides and skins work with a single company and are advanced cash by that company for purchases. Through their "men", who buy hides directly at the slaughtering area, these wealthy traders deliver the hides and skins to the trading company.
[314] Gum arabic is of lesser importance, and not all the European companies deal in it. If the world market price is high, they will make greater efforts to obtain a large portion of the crop.

44 This is the trade network through which the Kanuri economy
439 articulates with the world economy, and in particular with the
177

[GEIDAM]

Western world. As is obvious from the above, it centers in a series of relationships which a group of important and wealthy Kanuri traders have established with the European trading companies of the town. It involves a network of tradesmen, who fall into distinct classes in terms of their wealth and importance. At the one end are the canteen operators, wholesalers who have large sums of credit extended to them and are the heads of large households. At the other end are the small retailers, with little wealth of their own and still less credit, who travel from market to market with their goods for sale.

6. Internal trade.

Internal, or regional trade, represents still another type of trade, distinct from either local or from external trade. The trade in kola nuts is an example of this type of trade. Kola nuts are grown only in the south of Nigeria, and do not grow at all in the Northern Region; however, all Kanuri, men and women, adults and children alike, chew them. They are imported in bulk by Hausa and Kanuri middlemen, and transported to Geidam by truck. Because of the transport problem during rainy season, the price of kola nuts fluctuates widely according to the season, much more widely than any other item sold in the market. Middlemen who buy several hundred-weight bags of kola nuts at a time are called goroma; they sell only in bulk. Goroma sell to other middlemen who come directly to their homes to buy large quantities, which they in turn transport by donkey to the more remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly.

44 439 2760 [582] remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly. The Geidam goroma may also send his own agents, members of his household, to these small villages with kola nuts to sell. These agents sell to still smaller-scale middlemen in the Geidam market-place. The commonest form of retailing of kola nuts is the hawker, the bakama, who walks through the streets with a board on which he has several dozen nuts. Men who sit chatting in the evening shade will buy one or two nuts from the bakama as he passes, divide them into halves and quarters and distribute them among the several loungers. Kola nuts may pass through the hands of five or six middlemen before the Kanuri villager sinks his teeth into them.

44 439 [233] The counterpart to kola nuts in regional trade is cattle. Cattle do not thrive in tropical southern Nigeria, and since large quantities are raised in the north, cattle are the most important item which is sent south. Kola nut importers in Geidam frequently send cattle south in this two-way trade. Occasionally two men act as partners, one remaining in the north from whence he ships cattle and where he receives kola nuts, the other living in some southern city, where he receives the cattle sent by his partner and forwards kola nuts north. One Kanuri goroma in Geidam had a Hausa partner stationed in Enugu, and the two dealt exclusively in cattle and kola nuts in the manner described.

44 439 563 A subsidiary regional trade which has been increasing in importance in the recent years is entirely in the hands of Ibos

44 living in Geidam. They are involved in a dried-meat industry,
439 buying beef slaughtered in Geidam, where the price is low, and
563 curing it there. Since the price of cattle shipped south is
[497] raised appreciably by rail costs from nearby Nguru to Lagos,
[498] it is cheaper to cure the meat in Geidam and ship the dried meat directly by truck to southern cities. Rail freight costs are so important that many Fulani herdsmen drive their herds to Kano, some three hundred miles away, to save the freight charges.
44 This does not improve the quality of the beef. There is also
439 a certain amount of regional trade in dried fish, since fish,
563 too, are plentiful in Geidam. The dried fish trade extends
[494] to Lake Chad, where small communities of Ibos can be found whose livelihood comes from buying dried fish and shipping them south by truck.

D. Political Organization on the Communal Level.

63 Bornu Emirate, the largest part of Bornu Province, is itself divided into twenty-one districts, each with its Ajia.
[162] Geidam is the largest district, with a population of 86,993, covering an area of 2500-3000 square miles. The Ajia of Geidam is Yerima Mustapha, and he resides in the town of Geidam, the largest town in the district and consequently its administrative center.

1. The hierarchy of offices in Geidam.

64 The Bornu Native Authority was theoretically and now is

175
692 whom appeals could be made to the high court in the capital. The keeper
693 of the records or scribe of the high court, the Talba was considered the
[645] third most important person in the kingdom. It is said that this high court plus its scribe served as a council to the king in the affairs of state because of its members' knowledge in matters of law and religion.

175
692 When the Birni dynasty fell in the 19th century, Shehu Laminu
643 served as the highest judge in the land, thus bringing political and judicial functions even more closely together in the state. He kept the idea of an appeal court and local courts but did much of the high court adjud-
[631] ication himself. The relation of the temporal judiciary and its religious practitioners is illustrated by a European traveller's account in the 1820's,(1) who records that local judges' decisions could be reversed by the high court or the local political resident.

175
182 The presence of a large upper class and a royal court with
463 its patterns of specialized consumption, the uneven distribution of intensive cropping and craft production localities, the contacts with North Africa and to a lesser extent the western Sudan, for the last 1000 years, have all acted as conditions supporting the differentiation of labour in
[44] Bornu. This has produced the idea and the physical reality of the market.
175 Trade has been a well organized aspect of the society for centuries. A
439 complex system of distribution and production through the market was observed by the first travellers in the area. Grain was dispatched to Bilma up in the desert in return for salt. This trade so tied the people of Bilma to Bornu that even today when the trade has been much reduced, they still feel themselves very closely allied to the Kanuri. Natron from Lake Chad was taken to Kano and from there traded all over coastal West Africa.

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton, H. op. cit. p.23

452 It is at this point of the annual household expenses that credit seems
[511] to operate most commonly. Of the total of £89.0.0 reported by fifteen male household heads to have spent on operating costs in 1955-56, £16.0.0 or 18% was still owing to creditors. That is to say, in Bornu credit is an accepted mode of raising capital for housing improvements, buying a horse or other livestock, and paying taxes; it is less common for food, clothing, or entertainments (see below pp.324 ff. for a discussion of credit).

511 The following table summarises the quantitative data on consumption for the annual rural household expenditures in Bornu (in cash value). It should be remembered that this is a calculated or constructed summary based on a small sample of budgets, with additional information from a larger farm survey.(1)

TABLE XIX
Consumption in Rural Bornu

Food	£41.	62%
Clothing	£ 9.	14%
Ceremonies, Stimulants, Entertainments	£ 8.	12%
Operating costs	£ 7.	11%
Total	£65.($182.00)	100%

Thus the average rural household of four persons requires approximately $180.00 worth of goods and services per year, when major consumption items are expressed in cash values.

Distribution

433 Given differentiation in Bornu, as well as the dependance
• 44 of certain production and consumption upon imports, and the minimal as well as luxury needs of part and full time specialists, some mechanism

[171] (1) These amounts are similar to those reported by Smith (1955) for the Hausa, (see Smith, op. cit.) with a much larger sample.

433 of distribution of goods and services is a necessity for the operation
44 [441] of the social system. In Bornu this takes the form of a market economy and a specialist occupation of wholesale and retail trade.

443 805 Traditionally markets are held weekly (the Kanuri have a seven day week), and are referred to locally by the name of the day on which they are held. This week day name is extended as a second name for the market town itself, so that both the town and the market are known by two names. Thus in Magumeri a man may say, "I am going to Thursday, this Monday", and his hearers understand that on Monday he is going to Ngubura, the town that holds its market on Thursday. This is much less common for towns and cities which have major political functions, such as district capitals, or the capital city of Bornu.

443 366 Markets in rural Bornu are best described as interlocking series of cycles which overlap but are never completely congruent for any two market towns. A market cycle includes all the markets which the people of a town attend in their own locality. In Magumeri people who regularly attend markets go to Ngubura (five miles south) on Thursday, Ardoram (seven miles north) on Monday, and their own Magumeri market on Sunday. There are smaller markets in towns without motor road facilities on Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday, which are attended less frequently and these are all within a radius of five to ten miles of Magumeri. People in Ardoram have their own cycle which interlocks with the Magumeri one, but includes markets which Magumeri people rare-

443 366 572 ly visit, especially to the north. Thus Kachella, a seller of tobacco flowers in Magumeri, has many good friends in Ngubura and Ardoram where he attends markets regularly. He stays with these friends on occasion if he remains overnight or arrives early for a market. They, in their turn, visit and sometimes stay overnight with him when they come to

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
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121 work. This means that minute details of innovation and social life in general can be recorded at the level of the "common man" as contrasted with the analysis of regional or national productivity figures, or of government policies, or United Nations statistics. What emerges is not, therefore, a total picture of the development process, but rather a grass roots view of the reaction to planned culture change by the people at whom the programme was aimed in the first place.

The purpose of this article is to document and analyse an innovation that succeeded technically, and yet failed because the human components of the innovation experience were not taken into account.

101 The place is Africa, the time is 1956-57. But it could very well be the Near East, Asia or South America, anytime between 1940 and 1960. The people are the Kanuri of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria, but they could be peasants anywhere.

The Context

174 The Kanuri of Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria have
175 been organized as a Muslim emirate in the Chad basin for many centuries. Their language classification by Greenberg
[131] (1954), early Arabic sources, and the scattered work of a few
[642] interested scholars, supports the notion of their continuity in the region, with possible origins somewhere to the northeast of
[197] their present habitat. The pre-colonial emirate kept up continual trade and cultural contacts with the Maghreb during its long history as an organized state.

161 The Kanuri number about one and a half million. The
311 population density is approximately sixty per square mile and there is no pressure on farmland, which can be extended simply by clearing new bush areas further away from the population
433 settlements. The majority of the people are peasants who carry
241 on three analytically separable economic activities. These consist
444 of (1) farming, primarily millet and guinea corn, supplemented by maize, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and groundnuts, (2) cash
[434] cropping, mostly groundnuts, and (3) a dry season non-farming activity connected with the market. Market activities are in

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turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists.

The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kəntuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure.

The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state.

The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions.